

pushing, as also is a considerable portion of organized farmers, and by next year all the granges will be at work. Let the people's party join hands. Success will come at once and with almost no exertion—the line of least resistance has been found. The right to majority rule has long been an established principle, all that is required is that organized labor, organized farmers and the people's party shall question the legislative candidates as to whether, if elected, they will vote to make this principle effective. Candidates dare not refuse, and when elected will carry out their written agreements. Experience shows that these personal pledges are immeasurably more effective than a vague and indefinite party platform.

The above program for securing the liberty of the American people, and for showing to the entire world an easy and quick road from plutocracy to a people's rule, is the result of the combined action of many minds, and it is hoped that every populist in our broad land will see to it that immediate action is taken in his own district, and will help to spread the news. One socialist party paper, at least, is claiming that the papers of the people's party must go over to the socialist organization or cease publication. We predict, however, that under the Kentucky program there will be a rapid growth of populist circulation, with full-fledged success, politically, in next year's campaign. Yours for the people's rule,

GEO. H. SHIBLEY,
Director of Department of Representative Government, Bureau of Economic Research; Chairman of National Federation for Majority Rule; Member of Populist National Committee.

The foregoing is the gist of the recently developed facts in the science of representative government and practical politics that are adapted to third party action, writes Mr. Shibley. And he adds: "I have been in correspondence with most of the members of the Denver conference, and, with only a few exceptions, there is more or less misunderstanding as to some part of the proposed line of action. In the first place observe that a transfer of the final power from the political party to the people abolishes party government by establishing the sovereignty of the people. To bring about this change is the mission of the people's party. It is not working for a continuance of the rule of any political party. Its object is to terminate such a system—terminate autocratic government.

"When this is recognized all else should be clear: The pledging of reputable candidates for the legislature to vote to submit a constitutional amendment is all that is required. And this can be accomplished with almost no effort. In national affairs it is rules of procedure that should be worked for. The rules are not asked for in state affairs because it is easier to get the submission of an amendment to the constitution. But the federal constitution is so difficult to change, and the need for immediate legislation in national affairs is so pressing that it is considered best to push for rules of procedure, to be followed at some later day by an amendment of the federal constitution. In city campaigns, too, the rules of procedure should be amended. Self-emancipation is possible for cities and easy to secure.

"With the establishment of a direct initiative in eight or ten per cent of the voters there is opened an avenue for the immediate securing of direct nominations, proportional representation, and such other improvements in the system of government as the progressive workers may deem desirable. But these changes in state laws will doubtless come without using the direct initiative.

"In national affairs, however, there is urgent need for the direct initiative. It will be some time before the senate can be constituted so as to frame and pass the required legislation except by instructions. Let us plan to instruct the senators to install the rules of procedure, which will contain a provision whereby the voters may instruct at

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will. This is a strategic point. The monopolists have planned that it would take years to wrest from them the control of the senate, but, lo! they can be made to lose it in a single campaign, and the people's party can insure the success of the plan.

"The president has no veto as to rules of procedure and bills that receive a favorable vote by the people will not be vetoed by a president. Therefore it is of comparatively small moment who becomes president. The trusts will be directly controlled by the laws that will result from the bills that are directly initiated. To help frame these bills is of vital importance. In fourteen short months we should meet in national conference to frame the bills. Great is the work which the populist party can do! The mere announcement of the program by a national convention next year will insure success.

"After majority rule is established there will still be political parties, but they will no longer possess the final power—they can only recommend. Naturally, all the successful parties will have to champion government ownership of monopolies, for the people will refuse to grant special privileges. The differences as to the recommendations of the parties will be as to the manner in which this public ownership is to be brought about. One great party will stand for the people, the other for the capitalists. As to what will be the name of the party that stands for the people will depend on circumstances. In the south the capitalists will control the democratic party; in the north this class will control the republican organization, though exceptions will doubtless be the rule in both sections, as is the case today in Wisconsin and South Carolina. The socialist party with its demand for immediate public ownership of all the means of production and distribution, will probably have a small membership, as is the case in Switzerland, unless it changes its demands. It is demanding the immediate fruition of an ideal which it will take centuries to attain. But the populist demand, which is a step by step program toward public ownership, is in line with the law of social development. The populist platform, therefore, is sure to materialize.

"Two points more. The questioning of candidates, to be successful, must have some one or more persons in the district who mean business. The candidates must feel that should they refuse to reply the majority rule question will become a live issue. In Nebraska, last year, this was not the case. The questions were sent out over the state from Omaha by a few men in that city, under the name, Allied Referendum League of Nebraska. The republican candidates refused to reply, well knowing that there was no one to carry the case to the non-partisan organizations and to the people. Such a failure is no reflection on the system we contend for. Wherever the candidates in last year's campaign knew that they must reply favorably or meet the issue, they signed up. In Missouri, for example, organized labor sent out just before election a second letter to candidates and it brought in one-third of the total number of replies. The candidates were becoming frightened. The letters to candidates by organized labor were all remarkably firm and insistent. They plainly showed that the candidates must pledge or fight.

"In conclusion a word as to the value of signed pledges. They are a great advance over the party platform. The planks in these platforms are more or less vague, and the candidates do not feel that every line and syllable binds them. But when a candidate places his signature to an agreement it is entirely different. It is his agreement, and, besides, to repudiate such a contract could be proven in after years. Illustrations are numerous as to the difference between signed personal pledges and platform declarations. In the Missouri legislature, for example, a member declared that he had not made up his mind how he should vote on the referendum amendment, but when openly questioned by another member and shown the signed pledge he acknowledged the genuineness of the signature and the binding power of the agreement. Specific figures are furnished from California as to the small number who broke their pledges—and in California the contest was a live one.

"When our amendment first came up," says Brother Pretle, editor of the Industrial News, at Oakland, and legislative agent of the California state federation of labor, "there were two democrats in the senate who violated

their party platform pledge (the republican party refused to promise an amendment). Otherwise, all who were pledged either individually or otherwise were true. The last time our amendment was up only one of the democratic senators broke his pledge. "It is my judgment that personal pledges are, as a rule, more binding than platform pledges."

MUNICIPAL MISGOVERNMENT

No Economic Topic of These Times Has Afforded so Many Writers and Publicists

A FAVORITE TOPIC TO DISCUSS

In Magazines, Newspapers Pamphlets, Books and the Public Platforms

Self-government is not a failure in any state or in the United States. In the rural sections it is a success. In the congested centers of business and population which we call cities democratic methods of selecting officers and conducting public affairs have thus far produced vicious results. Many careful thinkers pronounce municipal free government a COMPLETE HUMILIATING FAILURE.

Many methods of reform are suggested, but as a matter of cold logic, the problem reduces itself to a business proposition. How can we learn to conduct municipal affairs with economy and honesty and at the same time secure the character of service demanded of modern urban existence? If cities were managed as life insurance companies are managed, defalcations and rottenness would not disgrace the records of our municipalities. Take for instance the BANKERS RESERVE LIFE CO.

of Omaha, Neb. It is six years old and has made a phenomenal growth because its business has been conducted by expert business men on business principles with scrupulous honesty and discriminating economy. As a result on the 30th day of September, 1903, the company makes the following splendid showing:

Income January 1 to Sept. 30, 1903	\$161,363.19
Balances Dec. 31, 1902	92,943.00
	\$254,306.98
Disbursements January 1 to Sept. 30, 1903	\$101,564.28
Net ledger assets September 30, 1903	152,742.78
	\$254,306.98
Invested and other assets	\$159,053.21
Net gain in assets	72,232.23
Insurance in force Sept. 30, 1903	\$6,561,250.00

The Bankers Reserve Life Company, with home offices in McCague Block, Omaha, has on deposit with the auditor of public accounts at Lincoln over \$100,000.00 for the security of policy holders.
B. H. ROBISON,
President.

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